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## THE VICTORY

Of Collective Unity Over Individual Looseness.

### WHO WON AT MANILA.

A Military Spirit of Discipline and Unity of Action Inspirable Only by Collective Production Triumphed Over the Dying Spirit of Individualism in Manila Harbor.

There is great danger that the deserved admiration bestowed by the nation upon Rear-Admiral Dewey for the matchless victory he won in Manila bay may overcloud the real victor, and deprive the signal event of its real significance, its trenchant lesson.

Dewey and his men deserve the full meed of credit. And yet, for valor, intrepidity, and all the other personal qualities that go to make up the individual soldier, their vanquished opponents surely were not inferior. The personal element being eliminated, who, what is it that won?

It was the superior tool of collectivism that carried the day over the inferior one of a now antiquated vestige of individualism: it was that spirit of discipline and unity of action, inspirable only by co-operative labor, that triumphed.

Friday, the child of an individual social stage, falling at the feet of Robinson, the product of a far developed collective system; the American Indian Empires, loosely connected aggregates of individualistic units, crumbling before handfuls of Spanish armed bodies; and now Spain, crushed at Manila by inferior numbers, rendered superior by all that superior collective organism implies—these are landmarks of history that act as sign posts on the path of the race.

Since the battle in Manila bay, sufficient facts have come in to make clear that our nation has burst through its swaddling clothes of a hundred years ago, while Spain has not. The oft repeated assertion about the superiority of our discipline is pregnant with significance. Discipline implies a subordination of the individual to the social organism; discipline rises only with a developed social system; the more subdivided labor and functions become, the more extensive also is the co-operation of the individual, the more necessary is the unity of action of all; and, consequently, the more necessary is discipline. Discipline is a child of co-operative, hence, of organized, labor; it flows therefrom; and with increasing organization it reaches higher perfection. The nation, to-day, that displays the most perfect discipline is the one that has reached the highest notch of civilization, in so far that it has reached the point in which the most effective work can be performed. Such a nation is the most powerful.

The historic mission of Capitalism is to bring on that productive system that is most fruitful in results; as means to that end co-operation and organization are needed; and these in turn are manifested by that unity of action that is vulgarly termed "discipline."

When the Congress of the United States, of that country that, on the whole, is the most capitalist of all, rose unanimously to pass a vote of honor to Rear-Admiral Dewey, it rose in fact to pass a vote of honor to that development of society that enabled Dewey's sturdy qualities to produce the matchless results that it did.

But in rising, consciously to do honor to the man, unconsciously to do honor to the highest grade of collective labor yet reached, the Congress of the United States also rose before the approaching hearse of the class that it to-day represents. The full blush of maturity on the fruit is the close forerunner of its end; is a symptom that within it is ripe the seed that will give birth to a newer tree, a better fruit. The victory at Manila denotes such ripeness of the capitalist fruit that the seed of the higher civilization it carries within itself is ready to fructify. In the womb of Capitalism the seed of Socialism has been developed—of a social system that, taking the good that Capitalism has wrought, will strip it of the evil that now hampers the good from reaching its fullest bloom.

The naval battle in Manila harbor is, as few occurrences, a historic symbol. As the Spanish flag went fluttering down with the Reina Cristina, there went down an old world of individualism leaving a new one of collective organization and unity in undisputed sway—soon to flourish into the genuine collective organism and unity of the Socialist Republic.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that recently ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. This work is of great value. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. city. Price 25 cents.

## I. T. U.

The Struggle Going on There Between Old and New Trade Unionism.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 10.—The last convention of the International Typographical Union, held at Colorado Springs in 1896, decided to thereafter elect the officers of the I. T. U. by a referendum vote. By the provisions of the constitution nominations may be made up to March 8, while the elections must take place in May, the date on which each union shall vote to be decided by that union. The most interesting feature of the new method is the requirement that each candidate for an office shall give in a letter of acceptance his views on the aims and objects of trades union organization, said letter to contain about five hundred words, and to be published in the Typographical Journal a month previous to the election. The Journal for April 15 contains these essays, and a rich collection they are. All the candidates, from the seekers after the office of secretary-treasurer, with its salary of \$2,000 a year, and the office of president, with \$1,700 as the prize, down to the treasurer of the Childs-Drexel Home at \$25 a quarter, express themselves on the methods, tactics, and objects of organization. There are fifty of these essays, and for the student of trades union economy they are remarkably interesting. They are interesting because for years the papers allied to the printing trade and notably those published for circulation among the printers, have been filled to overflowing with articles and communications about the superior intelligence of the typesetters. We have been told time and again that the printers must be relied on to lead the working class out of the valley of despond, and that the printers, and they alone, are the most "intelligent" branch of the working class.

It is presumed that these fifty men have been selected because they are equipped with the ideas represented by this superior intelligence, and yet in twenty-seven pages of fine type there is but one letter of acceptance that contains a common sense presentation of the subject, and it is gratifying to know that that letter of acceptance is written by a Socialist. Comrade Robert Bandlow, a member of the Socialist Labor party, of Section Cleveland, Ohio, who is a candidate for delegate from the I. T. U. to the moribund American Federation of Labor, gets to the point of the question at once as follows:

"Fellow Workers—In my opinion the policy pursued by the Federation is reactionary, not in keeping with our industrial development, and if the tactics are not changed it would be far better not to be affiliated with the body. For the odium attached to it must necessarily reflect discredit upon its constituents.

"The trades-union movement, become stagnant because it ignores industrial development, or, taking cognizance of it, fails to adopt a propaganda appropriate to the changed aspect. The time has passed when labor organizations can achieve results upon the industrial field against capitalism.

"New methods and improved machinery are daily increasing the army of idle workers. Man is the victim of his own productivity; constantly creating wealth, he unhesitatingly relinquishes possession of it to the 'captains of industry,' who, possessed of the tools and all facilities to distribute the product thereof, entrenched behind the power of government, maintain their right to all they survey.

"Private ownership of the means and tools to supply society's wants is responsible for the deplorable condition of the workers. Every piece of new mechanism makes superfluous greater numbers of toilers, and these displaced workers have no opportunity to apply their talent in productive channels to maintain themselves. To secure what our forefathers shed their blood for—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—we must take possession of these means (the result of collective labor) of asset that give us life.

"The working class must use its political power, conscious of its class interest, to secure the socialization of the means of production and distribution. There is not an industry which can successfully be carried on without collective effort on the part of the workers. This socialized labor product must be made the common property of society. Through generations our art has been so perfected that to-day the linotype operator, in the short space of a year, not only pays his own wage, but also the cost of the machine and leaves a margin of from \$40 to \$60 for the capitalist employer. Instead of being benefited by the invention, our craft is suffering untold misery. We are rapidly approaching a crisis, in which the toilers will be divided against themselves—the ignorant the employed—battling for a system that perpetuates their slavery.

"I represent that element which believes we are not true to ourselves and our class interests if we do not cease in this senseless struggle against capitalism. We must organize, politically as well as industrially, to accomplish the emancipation of the working class. Selfishness and demands of Capitalism are poisoning the way. Every trust is an indication of the practicability of co-operative effort. In our labor convalescence we must discuss the ways and means to escape from the thraldom of capitalism.

"Fellow craftsmen, if these sentiments meet your approval, and you believe with me that in the national conference of organized labor the views should be emphasized, cast your ballots for me as an exponent of Socialism, and declare with me that the time for NEW TRADE-UNIONISM has come."

the statute books of the United States are littered with labor laws that have been passed and re-passed, but never enforced.

### "THE FAIR PROPORTION."

Leaving the more brilliant lights, let me treat briefly of the ideas advanced by those who are running against Comrade Bandlow. First comes Frank Morrison, at present secretary of the A. F. of L. He wishes to arrange industrial conditions so that all who desire to work shall "receive for their labor a fair proportion of the result of their toil." Just think of it! The workman should receive a FAIR PROPORTION of the result of his toil! Not ALL of the result of his toil. Oh, no! It would be too radical to so arrange industrial conditions that the workman should receive for his toil the wealth his toil produces. That would be too "Socialistic." He must toil, and in return for it he must receive a "fair proportion" of the results of it, and the idle and immoral capitalist, for whom he toils, must take the rest. In other words, Morrison tells us the same old story that we have heard so often before: The Vanderbilts and the Goulds and the Tont Johnsons also toil, and although they spend the most of their time taking trips in their private yachts from one part of the world to the other, yet all the time they are hard at work producing wealth, and should, also, get a FAIR PROPORTION of the result thereof. Consuelo Vanderbilt, Duchess of Marlborough, aids so largely in running the trains on the New York Central Railroad, she runs so many engines, and brakes so many cars, and turns so many switches, and repairs so many miles of track in the course of a year that it would be unjust to a high degree if she did not receive in dividends a FAIR PROPORTION of the wealth her toil produces. Go ahead, Morrison! You are on the road to a fat job from some capitalist. Then listen to the following from the same student of political economy:

"The International Union, with a small treasury, has weathered the transition period from hand to machine composition, and in doing so has increased its membership, retaining all its former advantages, etc., etc."

Six years ago a 'permanently idle printer was a phenomenon, and there was no agitation for an out-of-work fund. The I. T. U. has indeed "weathered" the transition period, and in a manner that should send joy to the heart of the labor fakir, for President Prescott recently reported that out of a membership of less than thirty thousand about TEN THOUSAND printers were PERMANENTLY UNEMPLOYED. To-day practically every printer's union in the country has a standing committee to look after those of its members who are in distress; to-day every printing office in the country is being besieged from morning till night with able-bodied men begging for an opportunity to earn enough money to pay for a night's lodging, and Frank Morrison, secretary of the A. F. of L., with this army of TEN THOUSAND of his own craft marching before him, sits in Washington, draws his salary of \$1,500 a year with a private secretary thrown in, and talks glibly of how gloriously the I. T. U. has "weathered" the last six years. Yes, we have weathered the transition period, weathered it so well that the FEW who have monopolized the machines at from \$20 to \$30 a week can well congratulate themselves on the blessings resulting from trades unionism, while the thousands who have weathered this same period by being reduced to beggary are now accepting alms or going to truck farming.

### HOW THE "WEATHERED" WAS DONE.

And right here let me draw a contrast. In Washington, the officers of the A. F. of L. have offices on the first floor of the Typographical Temple. Up on the second floor is the office of the secretary of Columbia Typographical Union. Just about the time that Morrison was getting up this essay telling how gloriously the I. T. U. has weathered the change from hand to machine composition, the secretary of Columbia Union was sending out to every chapel in the District of Columbia an appeal for the members of the union to "leave at his office any SECOND-HAND CLOTHING they might have." As a reason for this appeal he stated that every day he was beset by destitute and unemployed members of Columbia Typographical Union for OLD CLOTHING to protect them from the winter's cold. Six years ago your printer wore a silk hat and carried a gold-headed cane, and your printer's union was monarch of all it surveyed. To-day Mr. Morrison's Typographical Union has WEATHERED the typesetting revolution so magnificently that your printer comes down to the officers of the union begging for the cast-off clothing of his more fortunate "brothers," and the officers of Morrison's Typographical Union have become distributors of that cast-off clothing. Lo, how the mighty have fallen!

### "MEETING OUR OBLIGATIONS."

Then comes John J. Howe, of Albany, and warbles his little song: He first tells us that the International Union is an organization with the object in view of elevating the position of every compositor—materially, morally and intellectually. Then he adds:

"The fact that we have in the last few years passed through the most severe industrial depression that ever afflicted our country without losing our members, but rather increasing the membership, have been able to meet all our obligations without burdening our members with extra assessments . . . proves beyond dispute that we are built on a solid foundation."

So we have been able to meet all our obligations, have we? I will admit that we have been able to meet all the obligations that the average pure and simple trades unionist is able to think of; but when a REAL MAN begins to think about the matter it takes on another color. The only obligation the average high paid machine printer, with his monopoly job and monopoly wage, is able to see is the obligation

to get all he can for himself and let the devil take the hindmost. For year after year the I. T. U. labored to build up an organization. Every man who carried a card helped to build this organization, and every man who helps to build an organization should be entitled to his share of the benefits resulting therefrom. They built up during these long years about THIRTY THOUSAND OPPORTUNITIES to work—opportunities to get food and clothes through labor. Then the machines were introduced, and as a result of there being thirty thousand opportunities to labor there are to-day less than twenty thousand. Where are the ten thousand displaced printers? On the street. Where are the others? Holding monopoly positions at as good wages as they drew before the revolution occurred. Speaking plainly, the strong, the influential, those who had pulled, robbed ten thousand men of the right to enjoy a place in the structure their sacrifices had erected, and reduced them to the degradation of accepting charity in order to live. And this is what Mr. Howe calls "meeting our obligations." But that is not the only "obligation we have met." Some months ago the distress of the unemployed became so marked among the printers that common justice called for an out-of-work fund. The proposition to create this fund and pay the out-of-work works the munificent amount of three dollars a week for a few weeks was overwhelmingly defeated when submitted to the referendum vote. Who defeated it? Is it probable that the unemployed themselves voted against it? Hardly. It was defeated by these same \$20 and \$30 a week men, who rob their "brothers" of the right to work, refuse to give up a FEW CENTS A MONTH for an out-of-work fund, and then belittle forth a chorus praising themselves for having "met all their obligations."

### HIRSH'S FITNESS FOR A JOB.

Edward Hirsh, of Baltimore, is another candidate for delegate to the A. F. of L. His scheme is to send out a lot of organizers whose principal duty shall be to travel throughout the country and "bring into the fold those who have not yet seen the error of their way." Quite likely Mr. Hirsh himself would like to be one of the organizers. But what a figure Hirsh would cut showing a workman "the error of his way"! On the 10th of April he was interviewed by the Baltimore Herald on the eight hour day. Listen to this scintillation:

"The honest toiler knows the great influence that shorter hours have upon the social, political, economic and moral conditions of our workers and upon our fellow men in general, and he would be glad to see the promotion of that movement to make life worth living and to let the WAGE WORKER SHARE JUSTLY IN THAT WHICH HE HELPS TO PRODUCE."

Observe how Hirsh and Morrison, both of whom are worshippers at the absurd shrine of that greatest living political economist, Samuel Gompers, finger the same string. Morrison says the workman should have a "fair proportion" of the wealth his labor produces, implying, of course, that the idle capitalist also aids in production, and should consequently get his "fair proportion." Hirsh puts it more plainly, and says that the wage worker should "share justly in that which he HELPS to produce." Helps to produce! That is rich! That is novel! By all means let Mr. Hirsh go forth on a trip to show the workmen the error of their ways. Some of them are so "blinded in error" that they believe they produce ALL the wealth in the country, and that consequently they should have it ALL, and that nothing less will satisfy them. To this class of men Mr. Hirsh should be by all means sent, and let him start off with the proposition:

"RESOLVED, That Consuelo Vanderbilt, Duchess of Marlborough, aid in running the New York Central Railroad, and is therefore justly entitled to the fifteen hundred thousand dollars a year she gets out of it."

"Resolved, further, That the men who do the work on the railroad are justly entitled to the broken legs and arms that they get out of it."

Great subject! Great speaker! Long live Hirsh, of Baltimore!

Thus I could go on for page after page giving quotations showing the "superior economic intelligence" possessed by the members of the I. T. U. who are running for office. From the president down to Hirsh, with the exception of Comrade Bandlow, their ignorance of economic facts is appalling. The thinking proletarian cannot but be disgusted with the whole collection of "pure and simple" essays.

From Prescott, who is now president of the International Typographical Union at \$1,700 a year and "traveling expenses," and who is a candidate for re-election, and Donnelly, who is now president of that patriotic "Big Six" of New York, and wants to get his fingers into that \$1,700 a year and "expenses" so badly that he can afford to come down to Washington and start a campaign—from these eminent "gentlemen of the labor movement" down the line there is not an idea uttered that shows a clear grasp of the modern labor movement. Their little essays would have sounded just as well and been just as appropriate twenty years ago as they are to-day. Ye gods, what a spectacle! The compositors have beheld in six short years a slaughtering of "their right to work," and hence their right to live, before which the devastation of Weyler's hyenas in Cuba would have to take second place, and these "leaders," these men who are up for office because of "superior qualifications," are to-day where they were before the Mergenthaler revolutionized the trade—six hundred years behind the times!

There will be one good result, however, flowing from the campaign: Comrade Bandlow's vote will indicate to what extent the printers are entitled to that term they have given themselves—"the most intelligent branch of the working class."

JULIAN PIERCE.

161 G street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## LOOTING OUR TREASURY.

Capitalists Appointed by the Government to Contract with Themselves.

The noise and dust of patriotism, that sordid interests are raising for the purpose of concealing their official malfeasances, may be loud and dense enough to drown and cover the voice of protest—just now. But the nervous reaction is bound soon to set in, and then the day of reckoning will come. In order to hasten on that day and facilitate its work, we call NOW attention to the following facts, gleaned from the official records of Congress.

To put the broad side of the wedge first—Federal officers are appointing Railroad Presidents to "manage the transportation" of our soldiers; these capitalist "captains of industry" are thus enabled to contract with themselves; in pursuit of the object they had in view when applying for such "management" and of the object of giving them the job, they are looting the Treasury of the nation; and, by doing so, are playing in '98 a variation of the very same tune that they played in '62, when, their class passed the Legal Tender Act, whereby they put money into their own pockets and took it out of the pay of the soldiers. The following are the details:

One of the items in the Urgency Deficiency Bill, just passed, is \$6,000,000 for transportation of the Army. This item, which is to cover only the remaining TWO MONTHS of the fiscal year, is almost equal to the entire pay for a whole year of the combined Volunteer and Regular Army. This in itself is a highly suspicious and fishy circumstance. Deeper inquiry reveals the reason therefor, and, along with that the foulness of the affair.

No sooner was war declared, and the Army and Volunteers called out, when a scampering of railroad agents took place. They wended their way to Washington, there they beset the War Department, and a system of wire-pulling was instituted. For what? For the choice of the points of rendezvous for the volunteer and other forces. The importance of these points of rendezvous lay in this: If the point of rendezvous was a city accessible only by one railway line, that line would have the monopoly of transportation and could bleed the Treasury all the more. Each company pulled the wires in its own favor, and got the stock-holders in office whom it could control to throw the weight of their office on its side. A few instances of this competition throw much light upon the whole affair, and not a little upon the sources of the "patriotism" that is trying to make the country insane. One instance is this:

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and the Baltimore & Chesapeake Railroad are two lines running through West Virginia. Each tried to secure a point of rendezvous in that State situated on its own line exclusively. The B. & O. "influence" secured from the Secretary of War the choice of Martinsburg, accessible only by that line. Thereupon the C. & O. got its "influence" to play on the Governor of West Virginia, and he appointed as the rendezvous Charleston, accessible only by the C. & O. The result was a deadlock, under which these capitalist patriots, who brought it on, and their political lackeys, who carried out their wishes, were perfectly willing to let the country run the risk of finding its soldiers unmovable.

Another instance, of direct plunder, is this: A Michigan railroad had agreed to transport troops from Detroit to Norfolk for \$7; another company thereupon quickly "contracted" for the same work at over \$12.—and THIS COMPANY GOT THE CONTRACT.

Frank Thompson, President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the property of the Rothschilds, secured from the Secretary of War the job of superintending the transportation generally. With this goes the function of contracting, with whom?—with himself, for the benefit of British capitalists.

Is there any wonder that this war has thrown our upper capitalist class into paroxysms of patriotism? Is it any wonder that Chauncey M. Depew goes about making patriotic speeches, and seeing that the Vanderbilt Railroad system is a part estate of the Duchess of Marlborough, that he waves the British flag together with the American as allies in this war? Is it any wonder that all these patriots seek to intimidate the people with the charge of being "unpatriotic" if they ask where they come in? Is there any wonder that their political lackeys jam such bills through as "urgent"?

A chance to loot the National Treasury, that is what the capitalist class sees in this present cry of "Patriotism"; and, as indicated by the conduct of these railroad presidents, they will pursue, behind the mask of a patriotism, a course that can only endanger the country in time of war.

Surely all this will ere long be thoroughly ventilated; this, though, is the time to begin to call attention to the ulcer, gnawing at our vitals.

## SPAIN SOCIALISTS.

Their Opinion on Continuing the War Against Cuba.

### SOCIALISTS WANT PEACE.

On the 15th of Last April, Before Even War Was Declared With Spain, "El Socialista" of Madrid, Organ of the Socialist Labor Party of Spain, Issued the Following Declaration:

"Who in Spain wants peace?  
"All that is the overwhelming majority of her people, her working class."

"The only exceptions are a comparatively small number of individuals, who place their own private interests and the interests of their own set above all other interests; it is these alone who want to continue the war against Cuba by all means.

"Republican capitalists—foolishly pursuing their party interests in a manner sure to forfeit whatever sympathy they may yet enjoy in the land; Carlists—zealous to restore a past, full of infamy and ignominy, that has brought us to the present plight of distress; Monarchists of all other shades—in whose mouth the cry 'Long live Spain with honor' is a sarcasm—such are the people who want the war against Cuba to be carried on.

"But," we are told, "back of them all stands the army!"

"The army?—The army, properly speaking, the army that is fighting in Cuba, because so ordered, that army does not want war. Only those few amongst it may want war who see in war a means to gain decorations, promotions, and higher incomes; the large majority of its members, who have nothing to gain, they do not want war.

"The numerous soldiers who walk about in Cuba on crutches, too weak, through hunger, to stand up alone,—they do not want war.

"The mere spectres doing duty on the Cuban fields, weakened by fever, hunger and thirst,—they do not want war.

"The soldiers who garrison the towns that are the depots of food, and yet are kept below half rations,—they do not want war.

"The soldiers who lie in the hospitals, taken thither wounded and famishing,—they do not want war.

"The cripples and almost corpses that return home piled up in our trans-Atlantic convoys, genuine funeral hearses,—they do not want war.

"The mothers, the fathers, the brothers and sisters, the wives, the children of the men expiring and suffering in Cuba in defence of a barbarous conception of honor,—they do not want war.

"Let Cuba be free.

"Let those who want war make up their own battalions of volunteers; let them carry on the war at their own risk; let them either go there themselves or send their children.

"Let them not, instead of that, shout war, send the working people thither, and themselves go to the Royal Theater, the bull fights, or the public places of recreation.

"Patriots, they call themselves? The place of the patriot is on the field of battle. But our 'patriots' want war only because it gives them a chance to fish in troubled waters.

"We, Socialists, want PEACE."

Dewey, being a Democrat, is already looming up as that party's candidate for President in '90. Poor Bryan and Bryanites; they were roped into this war, it leaves them stranded like a clam at low tide.

While railroad stock holders are looting the National Treasury, while upper capitalists of all sorts are standing under a shower of gold, workmen are being thrown out by factories shutting down—owing to the war.

There is no good wind from capitalist quarters that will ever blow any good to the working class.

One of the New York yellow papers announced one day last week that its circulation had reached 1,287,019 a day; and on that same day it raised its prices on its poor news boys.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns a few weeks ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, \$2.50.



## THE PEOPLE.

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— EVERY SUNDAY —

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## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

|                        |        |
|------------------------|--------|
| In 1888 (Presidential) | 2,068  |
| In 1890                | 12,881 |
| In 1892 (Presidential) | 21,187 |
| In 1894                | 33,133 |
| In 1896 (Presidential) | 36,564 |
| In 1897                | 55,673 |

Away with bogus Patriotism! We brand as equally spurious the Spanishism of a sugar-fed Cortes, the Cubanism of a sugar-coated Junta, and the Americanism of a sugar trust Senate.

Away with the sham humanity-monstrous hypocrisy of the ruling classes. We denounce with equal indignation the system that manifests itself by the acts of a Butcher Weyer in Cuba and the system that manifests itself by the act of a Sheriff Martin in Pennsylvania.

In the lurid light of the present war, to which may soon be added in both countries the flash of galling guns, mowing down strikers, let the working classes on both sides of the Atlantic see their only true way to freedom. Let them rally at the polls under the flag of universal emancipation.

Down with Capitalism! Onward with International Socialism!

MAY DAY DECLARATION  
of Section Greater New York S. L. P.

## BANDYING "TRAITOR" IN THE SENATE.

To judge by the yellow journals of the land, from the lightest saffron to the deepest amber, the United States is presenting a remarkable contrast with Spain. While, in Spain, the country is torn by dissensions, here, with us, the spectacle is that of a united lump of humanity, nearly eighty million strong, perfectly at one, and thrilled from center to circumference, and back again, with the mutual admiration and mutual confidence of its multitudinous units. Indeed, the spectacle were remarkable, if it were true; but it is not true; and natural it is that 'tis not true, seeing the intense antagonism of class and subclass that reign here, and that of necessity must reign in a country like ours where the capitalist system is rankest. The country does not present the spectacle of universal mutual admiration and confidence. Just the reverse; and the clash has broken out in Congress with such intensity that the yellow journals truly deserve credit for "skillfulness," having succeeded, as well as they have done, in hushing up the matter, and keeping up their fiction.

On Monday, the 25th of April, the following scene took place in the United States Senate, as may be gathered from the "Congressional Record" published two days later:

Senator Butler, of North Carolina, had the floor; he and those who held with him flashed defiant looks at an opposite set, with Senator Hawley, of Connecticut as its center. What divided the two? "Patriotism," as each understood it. The former set, the one clustered around the Senator who had the floor, had earned its spurs by selling out the country to the Silver Syndicate, and by shooting down the silver mine workers when they demanded better conditions; the latter set had earned its spurs by selling out the country to the Armor-Plate Trust, among others, and by bayoneting the workers into submission. The Silver Syndicate brigade had not succeeded in being bought up by the Armor-Plate Trust; the Armor-Plate Trust had not succeeded in being bought up by the Silver Syndicate. As a matter of course the patriotism of each was at dagger's point with that of the other. Their mutual enmity burns hot—all the more as each is "on the make" in the war. With this background the performance that took place will be best understood.

Senator Butler, of the Silver Syndicate brigade, was speaking; he went extensively into the armor-plate swindle, and dilated very much in full upon the blow-holes that were sold to the Government by the Armor-Plate Trust; so as not to be charged with indefiniteness, he went into details, specifying the ships in detail and the parts of each that were armored with blow-holes. He was proceeding at this rate, when sudden interruptions came from the Armor-Plate Trust brigade, with Senator Hawley as its center. The interruptions gained in frequency and violence, until Senator Hawley screamed out:

"I must protest against this. If privately the Senator of South Carolina should write a communication to the Spanish Government disclosing the defects as to certain armor plates, and pointing them out, he would be (pointing his finger threateningly at Senator Butler) GUILTY OF AIDING AND ABETTING TREASON!"

This shot, fired from the Armor-Plate Trust camp of patriotism, was answered by this other from the Silver Syndicate camp of patriotism with Senator Butler as the gunner:

"If anyone is GUILTY OF TREASON, it is those, INCLUDING THE

SENATOR FROM CONNECTICUT, who have stood as a partisan by the Armor-Plate Trust, and helped them to perpetrate these frauds on the Government. AND GET THEIR EXORBITANT PAY FOR DOING SO, thus ENDANGERING OUR SHIPS, THE LIVES OF OUR SAILORS, AND POSSIBLY TO HUMILIATE OUR FLAG."

"Treason!" banded in the highest branch of Congress by traitors to their country, each of whom in his own way has done his level best to degrade our people in the interest of his own subclass of capitalism, and is now pulling his way to make all he can out of the war, throws not only the proper light on the capitalist "patriot," but throws into relief the utter impossibility of oneness in the capitalist camp—even in time of national danger.

## LIKE SAGASTA, SO McCULLAGH.

Sagasta, the Chief of the Spanish Government, and McCullagh, the Chief of the New York Police, are being placed by themselves in interesting juxtaposition; incidentally, the illusion, that at bottom there is any substantial difference in the intellectual rectitude or moral basis of the ruling classes of Spain and of our own country, is ruthlessly shaken.

At the sitting of the Spanish Parliament, called there the Cortes, on the 7th instant, Deputy Mella was, at Sagasta's motion, "suppressed"; he was not allowed to speak and was put out. What was the occasion for such summary proceedings? Had he used indecent language? Had he uttered some new and unheard-of political doctrine? Had he made some treasonable or dishonorable proposition? No; no; no! He had quoted from the Bible, the Book on which, from the stony-hearted Queen Regent and her royal brat down to the lockeyed scrubwoman in the Escorial, the whole Spanish Government claims to rest, and by which it claims to be inspired. He quoted the words of Isaiah crying woe upon nations ruled by children, and undone by women.

In New York, the May Day demonstrations of the Socialist Labor Party were "suppressed" by McCullagh; neither parade nor open air mass meeting was allowed to take place. What was here the occasion for such summary action? Is the May Day demonstration an immoral one? Does it announce some unheard-of social doctrine? No; no; no! The May Day demonstration is the demonstration of a principle and a method. The principle that the solidarity of the working class of all nations is a prerequisite for the realization of that aspiration of civilization—PEACE; and that the working class, the class that alone is interested in peace and alone has to suffer by war, is also the class that has the MIGHT, that necessary thing to sustain RIGHT. The noble aim of PEACE and the practical means of MIGHT are both interwoven in our national history; the one rocked the cradle of the Nation's independence, the other affirmed it; in prose and poetry they have been extolled throughout the land; from the syndicated President, now our Chief Magistrate, to the lowest liveried lackey upholding capitalism, not one is there who would venture to dispute either the aim or the method that the May Day demonstration enunciates. They all must accept both.

When words, correct in themselves, arouse ire, the fault lies not with the words but with those whom they irritate. The bare mention of "rope" throws alarm among brigands; it suggests to their consciousness of wrongdoing the thoughts of impending retributive justice. Deputy Mella's words, taken from the Book worshipped in all Spain, the declarations of the May Day demonstration, taken from universal history, grated on the ears of a Sagasta and a McCullagh because these gentlemen are the direct representatives of a criminal class, and as such, such words and declarations conjure up before their minds' eyes the vistas of their class' doom, and, with it, their own, of course.

Happily for Spain, the upheaval whose distant rumblings the cable has latterly been conveying to us, may, even at the moment of these writings, have thrown into the ditch the particular criminal coterie that felt rebuked by Deputy Mella's words; but, tho' here in the United States punishment and redress may not be so swift to reach the McCullagh class, come they must, and with all the added emphasis that a long confiding and patiently suffering, but finally aroused people can and assuredly will add to their judgment—solemnly uttered at the ballot box.

To-morrow evening there will be held a mass meeting at Cooper Union by Section New York to start the prosecution of the Chief of Police whose high-handed conduct interfered with the Section's May Day demonstration.

Mysterious are the occurrences in Italy. Are they an uprising of the people, or are they simply riots of despair? If an uprising of the people, to what extent is it guided by sound aims, and to what extent do simply bourgeois utopianisms about "anti-monarchism" come in?

In the meantime it is noteworthy that the cry "Federal Republic Modeled after Switzerland!" is heard in many places, and that this has for some time been

the motto of the special capitalist interests represented by the council of Cardinals.

These Italian occurrences need close watching before a judgment is formed up.

What a bonanza a good war is for our patriotic rulers and their proteges! Horses worth \$25 and \$50 are being bought for \$125 and \$150. Who would doubt that Capitalism and Patriotism are one?

Parents, see to your children: These are days that are apt to leave lifelong impressions. The young humbug of to-day will in all likelihood be a humbug when grown up.

Last Sunday, there was an election held in France for Deputies to the national Parliament. The returns are still very imperfect. In fully 135 districts there will have to be held supplementary elections. These elections are held to-day. The clerical-capitalist alliance against which Zola threw himself, seems to have carried the day. What the Socialist vote is, we do not yet know. When the figures are in they will be reported.

## POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

Several months ago, when as yet there was no war on our hands, and patriotic railroad presidents and such were not looting the Federal Treasury to the tune of "Patriotism," the "Commercial America" had an item that it would be slow to publish now. It is this:

## "PATRIOTISM AND PROFIT."

"Messrs. Bryant & May, the British manufacturers of matches, a few years ago began to feel the effects of the competition of matches made in Norway and Sweden, which were underselling their own matches in the English market. Bryant & May thereupon appealed to British patriotism, urging the Englishman to buy only English matches. They presented this argument on placards and posters conspicuously placed in public places. For the third year in succession the firm has paid 17½ per cent. dividends. But some of the brilliancy of the matchmakers' asserted patriotism has been dimmed by the fact that their calendar for 1898 was printed in Bavaria."

The Girard, Kans., "Appeal to Reason" is in trouble with its "contributors." One of them, writing from "this (the 'Appeal to Reason's') office"—it is a unique way these "Appeal to Reason" contributors have, they write in the name of that office—made the paper perpetrate a string of economic blunders on the "middle class" and the "middle man," giving the "narrow" capitalists a chance to show the mischievousness of such "broad" educators. Now, another "contributor" (or was it the same?) again writing from "this ('Appeal to Reason's') office," flies off into such an ignorant and vituperative abuse of the American flag, such as only ignorant and pretensions demagogues can indulge in, that the paper has again to repudiate the article, the "contributor" must hasten to take French leave of Girard in particular and Kansas in general, and the "narrow Socialists" have an other chance to illustrate that it is not well-measured and solid reasonings that repel people from Socialism, but the unbalanced rantings of the science-despisers.

Luckier than in these two instances, is this identical "Appeal to Reason" with another contributor, an actual, a bona fide one, one contributing, not from that paper's own office in Girard itself, but from Pottstown, Pa. It publishes from this contributor, under the correct heading "A Serious Mistake," the following well-put together argument:

"It was certainly imprudent and unwise to make the new party—if a political party it was intended to be—The 'Social Democracy.' For what parent, having any forethought and affection for a new-born son, would dare to name him 'Holmes,' after that cold-blooded, wholesale murderer, or after 'Captain Kidd,' the notorious pirate? Yet here is a new-born party whose sponsors named it Social Democracy, which in this country is the family name of an old political party that is actually rotting to death. And although known for noble deeds in its youth, has in its latter years been guilty of all manner of crimes against the common people. Being the avowed champion of chattel slavery, which culminated in a long and bloody war; over-riding the constitution and its own most cherished traditions by sending the United States army into States to slay discontented workingmen, and suppressing free speech and personal liberty by despotic court injunctions, etc., all to aid the monopolistic corporations, and much more of the same sort.

The title of 'Social Republicans,' if adopted, would have cast no darker shadow on the movement, nor created more suspicion; perhaps not so much, as the Republican party, although most abominably corrupt and the open tool of the 'money power,' has not, like the Democratic party, made it a special point to seduce and then swallow into its greedy maw, nearly all the new or reform parties that have been launched upon our political sea, the late Populist or People's party.

"In Europe, the term 'Social Democracy' conveys quite a different meaning to what it does in our country. Because there it stands for an original party of true and pure Democracy, which has never yet been guilty of the dark and damning crimes against liberty and equality as is the original party of that family name in the United

States, nor is its banner stained with oppression, inconsistency or 'fusion.'

"The earnest, cautious, true Socialist does not want the brand of Cain upon the brow of any party he desires to support—even though it may only be so in appearance. A Socialist party should be like Caesar's wife, above suspicion."

Complete as this argument is upon its own lines, it may be supplemented with these remarks:

"Moreover, it is poetic retribution to see a new party, that struts about as peculiarly 'American,' damning itself in this country by fastening upon itself the, in America, opprobrious political family name of 'Democracy,' a political family name that it has apishly echoed from America? no, from Europe?"

Such, however, is ever the fate of Humbug and Cowardice: these, like the skill-less mariners of mythology, ever go down in Scylla while trying to avoid the Charybdis.

The Socialist eye is everywhere clear-sighted, and, reversely, the clear eye is Socialist. Though large lengths of seas and shores between America and Italy lie, the Rome, Italy, "Asino," the comic illustrated paper of the Italian Socialist Labor party has got well hold of the Cuban Question.

A two-page cartoon represents the Spanish capitalist Government holding a small, empty cage, from which a bird, flying in the air and representing the class-conscious working-class of Cuba, has just escaped; at the other end stands the United States capitalist Government behind a larger cage, whose door stands open and inside of which are two little cups, with a little food and water. This dialogue is inscribed below:

UNITED STATES CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT TO SPANISH CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT: "Your cage is narrow and old. That pretty bird needs greater freedom; it will be more comfortable in my cage."

CLASS-CONSCIOUS CUBAN WORKING CLASS BIRD (looking down with suspicion upon the cage in front of the United States Capitalist Government): "When will the day come when there will be no more cages, whether old or new, whether narrow or large?"

It is not always wrong or useless to throw pearl before swine. Of this the San Francisco, Cal., "New Charter" gives a good illustration in this apostrophe:

"Father Chidwick, Chaplain of the Maine, has been notified that he has been raised to the rank of lieutenant in the United States navy. Isn't that rather mixing things? Father Chidwick is likewise a lieutenant in the army of the Lord; and the Lord said: 'Thou shalt not kill.' And Jesus Christ, whose doctrine Father Chidwick specially preaches, said: 'If a man smite thee upon the right cheek turn the other to him also.' Wonder how the good Father will harmonize his reports as an officer in the army of the Lord, with his reports as a lieutenant in that fighting murder machine known as the United States Navy?"

Not bad this from Benton, Mo., "Newsboy":

"Our naval commanders may be paragons of bravery and reliability, and they may not. In one case we enter dissent.

"Captain Sampson, in command of the squadron at Havana, is the same individual who was government inspector of armor during the 'blow hole' incident some years ago. The Carnegie company furnished the government defective armor for war ships at exorbitant prices, but because they had this Sampson to do their bidding the armor was accepted by him and the government swindled out of thousands and thousands of dollars.

"More than this and still worse, the armor is now in use on the battleships to be used against Spain. One of the nation's greatest damages is its own armor, and for submitting us to this danger, Carnegie and Sampson are responsible.

"And yet in one sense his retention in the naval service may be well. Knowing the weak spots—those he winked at while inspector—he is certain to be more cautious than a less experienced man would be."

If you doubt the facts, look up the Congressional investigation on the Carnegie "blow hole" swindle.

A Wichita, Kan., contributor to the Chicago, Ill., "International Wood-Worker," who declares himself a Socialist, nails thus prettily one of the anti-Socialist arguments:

"If you believe it would make the workers lazy to give them all they earned, and that thrift is the cause of indolence, then shun Socialism."

The national organ of the Prohibition brand of capitalist Pharisees, the New York "Voice," sails into its Roman Catholic capitalist confreres who disagree with its theory that the exploitation of Labor is easier under Prohibitionism. These are the scare headlines it illuminates an article on that head with:

"ST. VINCENT'S 'HOLY BEER' BREWED BY PAPAL AUTHORITY. 'Students of St. Vincent's Monastic College Trained for the Roman Catholic Priesthood Amid the Fumes of the Brew-Pot Steaming under Direct Authority of Pope Pius IX.—Monks, Said to be Trained to 'Absolute Self-Denial.' Fight Like Tigers Whenever Their Beer is Assailed.'"

Now the St. Vincent brewers of Holy Beer have the floor. If they take it, their headlines will be reproduced here; and then we shall have both sides, mutually photographed.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## THE FLAG.

It Should Wave over a United and Undivided Country.

"We pledge allegiance to the flag and to the country for which it stands, one country, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

There have been many flag raisings of late, and the above sentence has emanated from the lips of many. The flag stands for "one country, indivisible," one united country. It does not stand for a divided country. When Washington was President the country was united. The people were then united because they owned the implements of labor with which they worked, and the land on which they worked. But through the development of the implements of labor from the old hand plows, spinning-wheels, etc., to the great machines, railroads, etc., of to-day, the bulk of the people have become divorced from the ownership of the implements of labor and the land, so that now we have a divided people, with untitled railroad magnates, gold kings, silver kings, iron kings, coal kings, wheat kings, sugar kings, factory lords, lumber barons, etc., who through their lackeys, the Democratic and Republican politicians, rule this country to-day with a hand of iron and a heart of adamant; the capitalist class which owns all the modern-wealth-producing forces and natural resources on one side of the line, and the great mass of the people who have become divorced from the ownership of the implements of labor and the land, the working class, on the other side of the line. Instead of "liberty and justice for all," we have tyranny and injustice for the masses.

That memorable Continental Congress which met at Philadelphia in 1776 showed its patriotism by becoming disloyal to the tyranny and despotism of King George III. The Socialist Labor Party of the United States is the only party to-day that stands for "one country, indivisible," that stands for a united people, that stands for placing the implements of labor and the land into the hands of the whole people, that stands for "liberty and justice for all," that stands for the nation, that is loyal to the flag, and that shows its true patriotism by its disloyalty to the tyranny and despotism of the legalized thieves and murderers who rule this country to-day.

We are often told to "remember the Maine," but we are seldom told to remember the shooting down of innocent people at Hazleton, Chicago, Brooklyn, and other places, or the "starved into submission" New Bedford mill operatives. We are seldom told to remember that this beautiful country with its fields and forests, mountains and valleys, lakes and rivers, mines and quarries, and all its vast natural resources, besides all the great machinery and marvelous facilities for producing wealth with great rapidity with an expenditure of comparatively little human labor, that, in the minds of it all, the great mass of the people are in degrading poverty with poor houses full of paupers, hospitals crowded with sickness, and people committing suicide every day to escape from the tortures and miseries of these damnable accursed conditions. "Workers of the world who have nothing in the world, unite throughout the world" against your only foe, the capitalist class!

A YANKEE SOCIALIST,  
Malden, Mass.

## TRAMP, TRAMP, TRAMP!

(Written for THE PEOPLE by MISS "NEMO," Philadelphia, Pa.)

Tramp, tramp, tramp!  
The boys are marching.  
The bugle sound is heard in all the land.  
Oh, the Cubans, they are sighing,  
For liberty are dying;  
And WE are going to get it for them,  
IF WE CAN.

Tramp, tramp, tramp!  
The times are marching.  
Getting worse instead of better for our poor—  
Now is our blessed chance,  
To make poor devils dance;  
Just send them on  
To fight the Spanish poor.

Tramp, tramp, tramp!  
The good (?) are marching  
Through our city at this time from door to door.  
They are asking for old clothes,  
Bedding, bibles, new or old,  
Just to sell for cash to feed  
Our starving poor.

Tramp, tramp, tramp!  
Our hearts are bleeding  
To hear of Cubans dying by the score  
From starvation's awful pain;  
We can pity them, the same  
As we pity thousands  
Starving here at home.

Tramp, tramp, tramp!  
The world is marching,  
Marching as it never marched before.  
Soon the poor of every land  
Will be joining hand and hand,  
And the capitalist wolf  
Be driven from each door.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Comrade J. Rummel, 310 18th street, is authorized agent. All subscribers in arrears are requested to settle with him at once.

Buffalo, N. Y.

Comrade Peter Steenmans, Jr., 52 Guilford street, has been elected agent for THE PEOPLE. All subscribers in arrears are requested to kindly remit when called upon by the new agent.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Comrade Max Keller, 1016 Hope street, has been duly appointed agent for THE PEOPLE.

All subscribers are urgently requested to settle for their subscription by him if in arrears. Give him a hand in agitating and gathering new subscribers.

Syracuse, N. Y.

THE PEOPLE always for sale at M. Lemp's, 470 S. Salina street, Syracuse, N. Y.



## UNCLE SAM &amp; BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan (with exaltation).—These are really days worth living! Think of the noble attitude of our Government! Well may we be proud of it—

Uncle Sam.—Of it for its attitude in appointing as chief of the invading forces General Miles who invaded Chicago in '94, restored the compulsory labor statutes of Edward II., broke the backbone of the Pullman strike—

B. J.—You must always come out with some such sally. Can't you think of anybody or anything except in connection with Labor troubles? Never mind Miles and the Pullman strike in this affair that I am now talking about. I am now thinking of the noble attitude of our Government—

U. S.—Inasmuch?  
B. J.—Inasmuch as, differently from all others, it is not bent upon thinking of itself alone, and the country alone; it rises above, it soars like the eagle above our own selfish concerns; it lets its eyes wander over the whole broad field of humanity; it takes in the whole of mankind; and like a noble hero of legendary lore it takes up the cause of the oppressed—

U. S.—struggles hard to repress an explosion of laughter which causes, nevertheless, some broken sounds to break forth.

B. J.—Did you say anything?  
U. S.—No; not yet; go ahead; I'm listening.

B. J.—Well, as I am saying, our Government, moved, no longer by narrow exclusion sentiments, now is animated by a broad humanitarian spirit; like the heroes we read about in mythology, wherever it sees oppression, it rushes to the rescue. Oh, that is fine!  
U. S.—Man, what are you talking about. You talk and look as tho' you had just come from a Prohibition convention, and the fumes of surreptitious whiskey were yet hovering over your intellect.

B. J. (pompously).—I'm talking of what I am talking. I'm talking of what I see, and know; and what everybody else sees and knows. I am talking of the conduct of our Government towards the oppressed Cubicans—

U. S.—The what?

B. J.—The oppressed Cubicans.  
U. S.—Call them Cubans, man; you might at least get their name right, even if you get everything else mixed up.

B. J.—Let it be Cubans! Aren't they oppressed; ground down; tyrannized; martyred?

U. S.—Weyerlized; Smitherized; Queen-Regentized—

B. J.—You may joke about it but it is so. Well, our noble Government does not purpose to let humanity suffer any longer. For a long time we had to tolerate that sort of thing because we did not yet have our growth; but now we have it; and now we shall use our growth, and our strength, and our might. Our Government now rushes to Cuba to redress wrong, alleviate suffering, establish freedom. Henceforth, wherever a wrong exists—

U. S.—That noble capitalist Government you are boasting of will rush to its redress?

B. J.—Yes. And wherever suffering is—

U. S.—That noble capitalist Government will rush to its alleviation?

B. J.—Yes. And wherever freedom is menaced—

U. S.—That same noble Government will rush to its aid?

B. J.—Exactly.

B. J.—No invitation needed. The existence of wrong, of suffering, of slavery is in itself an ample invitation. If invited, however, this noble Government will rush to the rescue all the quicker.

U. S.—Well, now, I'm puzzled. I read that the Government is just now concerned about Cuba only, and yet it has a special invitation from famishing and tyrannized Ireland to intervene in its aid. On the 8th instant, a mass meeting of Irish people, held in County Mayo, one of the famine-stricken districts, denounced the brutality of the English Police and English rule; and it appealed to the President of the United States to intervene in behalf of the Irish people, secure autonomy to the island and bring food to its people as he claims he is trying to do to the Cuban reconcentrados. This happened a week ago. I've not yet heard that that "noble Government" you were speaking about responded to the call, or took any notice of it. Have you?

B. J.—I can't say I did.

U. S.—And why is that thus?

B. J.—Well—

U. S.—Do you know?

B. J.—Well—

U. S.—I'll tell you. All this pretence of "flying to Cuba to redress wrong, alleviate suffering, establish freedom" is stuff for the marines. The British Grandes who profit by Irish oppression own more wealth in America than they do in England, consequently have everything to say in what direction this present Government at Washington shall "fly to redress." Mark my word, Ireland's appeal will remain unheeded. Ireland will never be aided until the Socialist Labor Party will hold the reins of Government. In other words, you have been stuffed like a goose upon the motives of this capitalist Government's acts.

## Take Notice!

Comrades, having copies of THE PEOPLE of April 3rd, 10th and 17th to spare will do us a great favor by exchanging them for current issues.



this office. J. PETERS.



## THE DEBATE.

(Continued.)

NEW YORK CITY, April 24, 1898.

Debate of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union (A. F. of L.) versus the General Council of Shoe Workers (S. T. & L. A.), at Teutonia Hall, 16th street and 3rd avenue, New York City, April 24, 1898.

Participants:  
John F. Tobin, and  
Frank A. Sieverman,  
representing the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union;  
William L. Brower, and  
Daniel De Leon,  
representing the General Council of Shoe Workers.

The meeting was called to order by Miss Katie Pryor, Secretary of the General Council of Shoe Workers.

TOBIN: Mr. Chairman, Fellow Craftsmen—We are here this afternoon to discuss the merits of two organizations, viz.: the General Council of Shoe Workers, and that of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. Now, the president of the General Council has just told you about something which happened in Lynn, which did not happen in Lynn at the time he said it did. He tells you that the factory of Faunce and Spinnery was placed on strike, and that we put men in that factory against the strikers in that factory. I want to tell you that the Faunce & Spinnery strike was organized previous to April, 1895, when our organization was started. It has never been a union shop from that day, except a short time ago, when the last were organized in that factory. That disposes of that cock and bull story.

The president of the Council tells you that we have refused to recognize the cards of his organization. I want to ask you if you see any evidence in his remarks here that we should do so? Has he not told you that they absolutely refused to take any part in the organization that would bring together the shoeworkers of the entire country, working in a common cause? There is no evidence that he has done anything of the kind, and now he complains very bitterly because we refused to recognize the cards of his organization. It seems to me that if we are not to be recognized in one instance, why are we to be recognized in another? If it is good policy to refuse to recognize our organization on the start, it is good policy for us to ignore his organization all the way through.

He has told you of the organizations attached to the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and the deplorable condition which exists in Haverhill and in Lynn, and assumes that that condition is because they have been attached to the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. I want to tell you that in Haverhill the organizations have had their struggles, their battles, and have gone down and come up again, and they are up to-day and smiling in the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. Now I want to tell you that you will find in the official organ of the Socialist Labor party a reference to the city of Lynn and its class-consciousness and the fact that the city of Lynn is working in entire harmony with the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Now I want to say right here that no man who is at all class-conscious would say it is not a very foolish thing for a labor organization to fight the introduction of labor saving machines. Is not that so? And yet these men in the city of Lynn are sufficiently "class-conscious" to-day to go ahead and fight the introduction of machinery. They say the lasting machines must not be introduced in the city of Lynn; we must not have any of these lasting machines in there—while in the Official Souvenir Book of the General Council of Shoe Workers we find this very machine advertised here. This is the kind of argument we hear: It is proper for us to introduce this machine in New York, and it is improper for the same kind of people to introduce it in Lynn. That is logic! We will also find here another argument, an argument why shoeworkers in New York get such low wages. You know it is worth just as much for a plain box toe as a cap box toe; and still we find in the official organ of the General Council of Shoe Workers this kind of an advertisement: "Lasters plastic box toes capped and lasted as speedily as ordinary plain toe shoes, and you should use this plastic box toe in order to enable you to last twice as many." An argument for the boss to cut down your wages, because your General Council of Shoe Workers says it is proper that shoeworkers should work on these machines. Now that is a nice thing to come from the Souvenir Book of the General Council of Shoe Workers.

The merits of the two organizations: Now we find that this Council, which was such a good organization, was attached to the Knights of Labor in 1895, after the organization of our Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; and we find in this Souvenir Book many interesting things, and among them is this. In the preface we find this: "We have in our union a machine which is powerful, and more so than any the manufacturer may introduce to cut down our wages; that machine means the Knights of Labor; this machine is the branch which embraces the various shoe organizations in this vicinity and in other parts of the United States. Under this policy, under the glorious banner of the 'Knights of Labor,' we have it in our power to compel the capitalists to turn to us." Here he tells you in 1895, in the Official Souvenir, that he can bring them to terms. How very logical he is!

And now he says further on: "To ultimately enjoy that capital ourselves, and so confer the benefits to be derived from its use to the use of the whole of humanity, instead of allowing the fruits of our brain going to satiate the whims of useless plutocracy. Let us be so fired by ambition to improve our condition that our strength may be doubled in members, which will prove of the utmost benefit to ourselves. The remedy of our ills is so simple that it is unfortunately neglected, but unless starvation wages are to prevail there must be no time lost by us to profit from the warning given us in the past few years." Now that all goes to show that the men who penned that are thoroughly "class-conscious." It seems to me that any organization which would allow any declaration of that kind to go forth is distinctly unworthy.

Now we find many things here that go to show that our organization is not an organization that is going into disruption at once. We have many evidences to show that our organization is on the steady and upward progress. We started in April, 1895, by completing an organization, in which we invited the New York shoemakers to participate, and we hoped, because of their knowledge of the labor movement, that they would come into that convention and give us the benefit of their advice; but, oh no, they knew all about the labor movement in New York, but still in the face of those declarations we see they do not know all about the labor movement. We organized in 1895, and we have made the organization as progressive as we possibly could under the circumstances; but we realized that we could not turn this world upside down, and scrape it on the other side, and turn it back again in a year or two; we knew it must be steady progress, and we have made our work along this line, and at our last convention we adopted a resolution recognizing that we are a class-conscious organization, and I will give you the resolution showing that we are: "Sec. 3. For government ownership of industry, which would promote the fairest competition, giving the worker a voice and a vote on prices and conditions." That seems to me to be a declaration of men who are class-conscious; that is certainly evidence that we have made some progress; and I want to see the evidence of the progress you have made in New York City during all these three years.

I want to call your attention to the fact that we came here in 1895 by invitation, and we refused to organize you at that time. The president of your General Council of Shoe Workers said we have not a chance to organize, and we refrained from coming into New York, and we allowed them to drift along in New York, and we find that their organization is much smaller than we had had at that time. We have not been able to accomplish very much this far, but we have hopes for the future, and we believe we can accomplish something; at least, we will not be charged with not attempting to do something. It is an evident fact that the condition of the shoeworkers in New York City is a conclusive proof that nothing has been done for them for years. We come to New York City, and we are accused of organizing scabs, of organizing men who betrayed their fellow-workers ten years ago. When I was down at Military Hall, Comrade De Leon asked me, "Why do you come and organize scabs?" I said, "I am not organizing scabs. How far back do you want me to go?" He said, "Comrade Brower, how long since the Lattinam strike took place?" "In 1894," Comrade Brower said. If Comrade Brower had said that the strike took place nine years ago, then I would have to wait ten years before I dared to organize the shoeworkers in New York City! Men who are class-conscious very easily forgive men who go back on their organization, men who are the victims of the conditions they are living under, although it makes me do things which they ought not to do; but I want to ask you at the same time what excuse can this same organization give for coming up to the city of Buffalo and organizing an opposition union in Buffalo? That is the question I would like to have answered. That is where the gauntlet was thrown down. Then we came here in November and organized, and we said to the New York shoemakers, "We are to organize you if you want organization; we are not here to destroy your movement; we leave you absolutely free to choose between one organization and the other;" and to the extent of a considerable number, 150 at least, at the first meeting, they said, "We want to organize with you," and we gave them men an opportunity to address them why they should or should not organize. The men who came to that meeting would not affiliate with the existing organization in New York City, and we would not leave these men unorganized year after year and be a menace year after year to the organization that already existed here. We organized in Brooklyn and here. Our organizations have grown both here and there and throughout the entire country.

Now I am not one of those that believe that mere numbers in organization is the thing that we want to strive for. I believe the more class-conscious and effective we make the organization the more effective it will be. But I said here in our March report, and I will show you that we have organized since the first of December: New York City; Haverhill, Spencer, Mass.; Syracuse, N. Y.; Spencer, Mass.; Worcester, Mass.; North Adams, Mass.; Nassau, N. H.; Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Milwaukee, etc., making a membership increase in our organizing during those three months of 1,210 members. Those are new organizations, to say nothing of the old organizations that we had. Now it is fair to presume that such an organization is not on the down grade at all. Now these figures I have given you is opposed by 56 withdrawals, leaving the total increase in new unions 1,154.

Now, in addition to that and what I have said to you, you have the statement of the president of the General Council that you have got such a kind of an organization here. How do you know you have got it? You have not a single scrap of paper which gives you any evidence of the members of the organization and its financial resources. On the other hand, we give you every month a monthly report, giving you a statistical account of the membership of each and every local union, where it is located, the financial receipts of the organization and the expenditures of the organization. All this information we give to you, and we give it to you freely; while even in your report of the convention which you held you did not get a single figure of what money you gave and what you got for it.

I want to ask you if your President is a class-conscious man, is a man who can carry a red card of the Socialist Labor party in his pocket, as I carry myself, is a class-conscious worker, a fit man to lead you, who will go out and get up a souvenir book. The last resort of a broken-down labor skate is a souvenir book, every time. You will see him immediately proceed to issue a souvenir book. What is it for? To go around and bleed the merchants; it is a black-mailing scheme, which our organization has condemned. It has said that no officer, no member, of our organization

shall issue a souvenir book. (Applause.) Even the much derided Federation of Labor, which you have condemned so much, has at two conventions said: "We condemn the issue of souvenir books."

I have here a full file of our reports from the time we were organized in 1895, embracing 36 monthly reports, and I have here the reports of our conventions, to exchange with the General Council, for any reports at all during that time. We have volunteered, we have offered the information, we have offered to furnish this information to the Council of Shoe Workers in exchange for their reports. We will exchange them right now for any report they can give us.

Now, I do not hinge my remarks upon the fact that the President of the General Council published one of these things; here is another one issued in 1897, and here is another and another, with buncombe in them enough to convince anybody that a man who issues a thing of that kind is not class-conscious. Why, here his address to his convention is made up every year of nothing but strictures upon our organization. He publishes it in his souvenir book, and he tells us that "Comrade Tobin is an honest man, is a class-conscious Socialist," but he says: "You cannot successfully go through the process of pouring new wine into old bottles." What does that mean? It means that you cannot make the members of our organization class-conscious because they are old bottles, old soaks, that you cannot do anything with! Here is another one here for District 49; and then there is another one here issued by the N. Y. District Assembly 49, and various others. Now, I want to ask you if the process of pouring new wine into THAT bottle is a successful one? I doubt very much the quality of wine that has gone into THAT bottle during that time.

Now, what has our organization done? We have had our defeats and our victories; we have had many victories and many defeats, but notwithstanding our defeats we recognized why we were defeated, and knowing the reason of our defeats, we do the best we can to meet our defeats in the most philosophical manner.

I anticipated he would tell you that Brocton, under the management of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, had gone down hill, and they were disrupted because we did not know how to lead them. I want to tell you that the situation there is coming our way very rapidly; and I want to tell you in reference to Lynn, that under the leadership of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union Lynn is not disrupted to-day, but in face of the fact that their course has been in direct violation of the wishes of this organization and that is one reason why they are in the situation they are to-day, what are we trying to do for them? The same thing we passed two years ago, fighting along the same lines that we organized for them, and they are trying to build their organization up again on that line. If they had taken our advice at that time, their organization of last year would not be to-day practically wiped out of existence.

Now, here is something I want to give you as an illustration of how things are going in Brocton. You know we have had considerable trouble down there. In the organizations in Brocton we had proposed to our organization in 1895 three organizations that were independent of any organization, namely, the organizations of sole fasteners and edge makers, and afterwards these organizations became attached to our organization, and then we are supposed to live up to the rules of our organization that no local union should order a strike in any factory without the consent of the Council or the consent of the Executive Board, and notwithstanding this provision, they did order a strike in the T. D. Barry factory. They asked us to interfere, and we did interfere to this extent. We said to Mr. Barry, you renege those men or we will have trouble, and inside of two days we had every thing settled nicely. And we said to the sole fasteners and edge makers, you take your grievances and bring them where they should go, and if your grievance is a just one, we will assist you to maintain your grievance. What was their grievance? They were getting \$21 a week, and they wanted to work for two cents a pair. When it came to our council we ordered that the strike be sanctioned, and when this proposition was made known to the manufacturer, he did not want to settle, and he made a proposition to arbitrate, which was submitted to our Council, and the delegates voted in favor of submitting the question to the State Board of Arbitration. The eventual result was a defeat in that particular case, and then they decided to order a strike in the various cities in order to establish that price, which they did. But the independent unions which went out in face of the fact that we had had lasters on strike back some time, which would make it impossible for them to go in—and we did succeed in winning, but not so with the sole fasteners, with the edge makers and with the fasteners; they were hopelessly defeated. The situation is changed.

We find here a circular, as follows: "Dear Sir and Brother—The organization will hold a meeting on Wednesday evening, April 6th, to take action on the following propositions: First—To see if the union will vote to apply for a charter, 117, in the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. Second—To see if the union will vote to open a new roll book. Third—To elect a full board of officers. President Tobin, of the Boot and Shoe Workers, will be present and address the meeting. Trusting that you will attend, I remain, Sir, your obedient servant." That is a genuine document. I went to Brocton on that occasion. I had the very supreme satisfaction of getting them to apply for a reissue of their charter, and they propose to run their organization in conformity with the general policy which I have outlined. That was following the fact that the fasteners had also voted to come back into our organization; and the edge makers are also thinking of coming back into line. That goes to prove that our policy has not been one that disrupts. They have recognized the accuracy of our policy in Lynn, Brocton and Haverhill. We have made a success of our organization. We have had our defeats, and we have had our victories. Our organization does dwindle in numbers sometimes, but we come up smiling again. We have prospects which are certainly very encouraging.

Now, I wish in conclusion to say that I came here in 1895 as a delegate to the American Federation of Labor, and I was invited to speak at the Cooper Union meeting. I went there, and to my surprise I found that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was launched, and I was bunched into addressing that meeting, not knowing what I was going there for, and that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was launched, and presumably had my endorsement. I tell you now that I had no sympathy with the methods of that organization, and have no sympathy with them to-day. The organization of the wage-earning class can go on in the Trades Union movement. We have shown to the capitalists that we are divided, that we are not a unit in the interest of ourselves; and, as a consequence, we have got to defend ourselves as Socialists; we have got to defend ourselves against the false tactics of a so-called Socialist Labor party, which endorsement was obtained under false pretences, as I intend to prove to you this afternoon.

The Chairman informs me that I have just one minute to close. Now I want to tell you if anybody can point to any action of ours to our discredit, I want them here and now to state it. We are here asking that you come into our organization, in the hope that we may do something for you, but of course recognizing that we have many things to contend with; still, we want to help you if we can, and we want to get your assistance, those of you who are class-conscious, and those of you who are not. I want to tell you that our movement is a union one, but I want to tell you also at the same time that it is absolutely impossible to solve the labor problem short of a combined political and economic movement. It is not the Socialist policy to force out the men who are dissatisfied. I thank you for your kind attention, and I hope we will be able to prove our case to you this afternoon. (Applause.)

# THE PEOPLE

## \$50,000 FUND.

### Amount Pledged down to May 4th, 1898.

# \$4,575.

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.

124 William St., N. Y.

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